

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SAM-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 SAI-01

OMB-01 DRC-01 /152 W

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R 031811Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2275

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY VIENNA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 07169

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: FRG VIEWS ON VERIFICATION,
NUCLEAR ELEMENTS AND FORM OF AGREEMENT

REF: STATE 90116 AND BONN 6643

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING MAY 3 DISCUSSIONS WITH US MBFR DEL
DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE DEAN, FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN
WELL AND MBFR DEPT. CHIEF RUTH PROVIDED CURRENT GERMAN
THINKING ON VERIFICATION, NUCLEAR ELEMENTS AND FORM OF
MBFR-I AGREEMENT. VAN WELL ALSO DESCRIBED SCHEEL'S EX-
CHANGES IN BUDAPEST WITH HUNGARIANS, AND EMPHASIZED
QUALITATIVE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND MBFR
PHASES. HE EVIDENCED ACUTE CONSCIOUSNESS OF NEED TO
AVOID MBFR AGREEMENTS THAT COULD BE ATTACKED BY GERMANY'S
EC-9 PARTNERS OR BY CDU/CSU OPPOSITION. END SUMMARY.

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1. GENERAL - US MBFR DEL DEPUTY REP DEAN, ACCOMPANIED

BY EMBOFF, MET MAY 3 WITH RUTH AND VAN WELL FOR DISCUSSION OF CURRENT MBFR ISSUES PRELIMINARY TO THIRD ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. SEPTTEL COVERS LINKAGE TYPE ISSUES. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS ON VAN WELL'S AND RUTH'S COMMENTS ON OTHER MBFR TOPICS.

2. WP VIEWS - VAN WELL SAID HE HAD GAINED IMPRESSION THAT RECENT WARSAW PACT PCC SUMMIT HAD DISCUSSED POSSIBLE "MODIFIED MBFR LINE" AS WELL AS CSCE. SOVIET/WP RELATIVE PRIORITY SEEMS IN VAN WELL'S VIEW TO HAVE SHIFTED FROM REDUCTIONS OF US TO REDUCTIONS OF BUNDESWEHR FORCES. DURING SCHEEL'S RECENT VISIT TO BUDAPEST, HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER STATED THAT SOVIET AND FRG FORCES WERE THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND BOTH WOULD HAVE TO BE REDUCED IN MBFR I AGREEMENT. (COMMENT: SOVIET POLITICAL COUNSELLOR TOLD EMBOFF MAY 3 THAT AMB FALIN, JUST RETURNED FROM MOSCOW, HAD INFORMED HIM RUSSIANS WOULD IN COMING VIENNA ROUND MAINTAIN INSISTENCE ON PARTICIPATION OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. END COMMENT.)

3. VERIFICATION - VAN WELL AND RUTH THEN TOOK UP ISSUE OF VERIFICATION, SAYING THIS REMAINED "SORE POINT" FOR FRG. RUTH SAID FRG STILL WISHED TO OBTAIN U.S. ANSWER TO EARLIER GERMAN QUESTION REGARDING WHAT CAN AND CANNOT BE ACCOMPLISHED BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS (NTM) FOR PURPOSE OF MBFR I AGREEMENT. RUTH EMPHASIZED THAT FRG STILL PREFERS NTM AS KEY ELEMENT OF MBFR I VERIFICATION. HOWEVER, RUTH REITERATED GERMAN READINESS, REPORTED BONN 5335 AND USNATO 1832, TO AGREE TO PERMANENT INSPECTION TEAMS AT A LIMITED NUMBER OF NGA EXIT AND RE-ENTRY POINTS, SUCH AS AIRPORTS, HARBORS, RAIL TERMINALS, AND ROADS. ENTRY AND EXITS FROM NGA WOULD BE LIMITED TO THESE POINTS AND NTM WOULD VERIFY THAT THIS WAS THE CASE. BUT, EMPHASIZED RUTH, PERMANENT MOBILE INSPECTION TEAMS IN MBFR I WERE "SIMPLY UNACCEPTABLE" TO BONN. RUTH SAID MILITARY ARGUMENTS FAVORING VERIFICATION BY PERMANENT MOBILE TEAMS COULD ONLY MAKE SENSE, FROM STANDPOINT OF WARNING TIME, INTELLIGENCE GATHERING, ARMS CONTROL PRECEDENT VALUE, ETC., IF SOVIET WESTERN MILITARY

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DISTRICTS WERE INCLUDED. RUTH SAID FRG-NATO DEL IS BEING SENT FURTHER GUIDANCE CONTAINING FORMULATIONS CORRESPONDING TO ABOVE POSITIONS.

4. VAN WELL ALSO INTERVENED TO ADDRESS VERIFICATION ISSUE FROM POLITICAL STANDPOINT, SAYING THAT SOVIETS MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND CLEAR QUALITATIVE DISTINCTIONS, INCLUDING JURIDICAL DIFFERENCES, BETWEEN THE TWO MBFR

PHASES. EXIT/RE-ENTRY POINTS AS SUPPLEMENTED BY
NTM WOULD SUFFICE IN PHASE I, BUT OTHER VERIFICATION
ARRANGEMENTS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE IN MBFR II. VAN WELL SAID
SENIOR GERMAN OFFICIALS STRONGLY OPPOSE PERMANENT MOBILE
TEAM CONCEPT AND BELIEVE IT COULD BE EXPLOITED POLITICAL-
LY BY DOMESTIC OPPOSITION PARTIES. MOREOVER, HOLDING
MBFR I REDUCTIONS TO US/SOVIET FORCES AND

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LIMITING RELATED VERIFICATION MEASURES, AS DESCRIBED
ABOVE, WOULD AVERT FURTHER BURDEN TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
POLICY - PARTICULARLY VIS-A-VIS PARIS.

5. FORM OF AGREEMENT - ON RELATED POINT, RUTH RAISED
SEVERAL QUESTIONS COVERING POSSIBLE FORM OF MBFR I
AGREEMENT - I.E., WHICH COUNTRIES WOULD SIGN, TREATY OR
OTHER INSTRUMENT, WHICH IF ANY PARLIAMENTS COULD
RATIFY. SPEAKING PERSONALLY, RUTH SAID HE COULD IMAGINE
RATIFICATION BY THE U.S. AND USSR, WHOSE FORCES WOULD
IN FACT BE INVOLVED. RUTH ALSO BELIEVES SOME PARALLEL
COLLECTIVE ACTION BY THE ALLIANCE AS AN ENTITY WOULD BE
A GOOD IDEA IN ORDER TO UNDERLINE TO MOSCOW THE

INDIVISABLE ALLIANCE POSTURE ON MILITARY/SECURITY IN GENERAL AND MBFR IN PARTICULAR. VAN WELL ADDRESSED THIS POINT OBLIQUELY BY STRESSING HIS ACUTE SENSITIVITY TO MOBILE TEAM VERIFICATION ISSUE IN CONNECTION WITH PREFERENCE TO AVOID BUNDESTAG RATIFICATION PROCEDURE ON MBFR I AGREEMENT.

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6. NUCLEAR ELEMENTS - RUTH LIGHTLY INQUIRED REGARDING POSSIBILITY OF FURTHER TRILATERALS, BUT DID NOT PRESS THE MATTER. HE WAS CHARY ABOUT USING ALL ELEMENTS OF NUCLEAR PACKAGE IN MBFR I, PREFERRING "PHASED USE" OF NUCLEARS. RUTH SAID PARTS OF ALLIED NUCLEAR PACKAGE SHOULD BE TRADED IN PHASE II TO GAIN COMMON CEILING RATHER THAN ALL EXCHANGED FOR TANK ARMY IN PHASE I.

7. VAN WELL SAID HE REMAINED "WHOLLY UNCLEAR" REGARDING SALT/MBFR INTERFACE. VAN WELL SAID THAT, DURING RECENT VISIT TO BUDAPEST, HUNGARIANS HAD ARGUED THAT EAST-WEST BALANCE OF POWER ALREADY EXISTED IN VIEW OF WESTERN NUCLEAR ADVANTAGES AND EASTERN CONVENTIONAL ADVANTAGES. SCHEEL HAD TRIED TO OVERCOME THIS ARGUMENT BY SAYING THAT NUCLEAR PARITY RESULTING FROM SOVIET BUILD-UP AND SALT REQUIRED THAT EAST REDUCE MORE IN MBFR TO BRING ABOUT CONVENTIONAL PARITY IN FORM OF COMMON CEILING.
HILLENBRAND

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